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## CONDITIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, at the conclusion of my remarks, two articles on American policy in South Vietnam. The first is an article entitled "War Against Reds Dominated News," written by Homer Bigart and published in the New York Times of August 22, 1963; the second is an article entitled "The Swamps of Saigon," written by Robert Karr McCabe, Newsweek's correspondent in Southeast Asia, which appeared in the New Leader of August 19.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.  
(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, these articles tell a very sad story of American foreign policy. It is a policy that has failed, and has cost us billions of dollars in the meantime, and the loss of precious American lives. The sooner the United States ceases its support of the Diem Government, the better off we shall be.

Newspaper accounts coming from that area in recent hours indicate that there have been some changes in the Government in South Vietnam, but the accounts of such changes are not very reassuring. It appears that the changes consist of changing from the dictatorship of Diem to a dictatorship of the military.

We keep Diem afloat with huge sums of foreign aid; and although that aid is touted as a means of containing communism without use of American forces, we are using American forces, too, in South Vietnam. Diem, is our responsibility, and the world knows it. If we were to cut the string, he would sink. So long as we do not, we must accept all the opprobrium that goes with his noxious regime. He is our responsibility because we assumed it. We assumed it wrongfully. In my judgment, the position that we should have taken from the very beginning was that we would cooperate with other free nations in the defense of freedom in South Vietnam, but that we would not assume full responsibility for the protection of freedom in South Vietnam.

Time and time again on the floor of the Senate I have raised the question, and I raise it again, and I shall continue to raise it until our policy in South Vietnam is changed: Where are the other free nations in respect to helping in the protection of freedom in South Vietnam? Why is it America's responsibility? Where are Australia, New Zealand, and Canada? Where is England or France or West Germany? Where are the rest of our alleged allies?

The American people are entitled to a full exposure of all the facts involving our present and past relationship with Diem.

I have opposed unilateral U.S. intervention in South Vietnam from the beginning. I have insisted that we should not be the only ones to help—other nations of the world were to help—and they were not—to help in South Vietnam, with their funds and with their blood. I have always urged that we stay out of South Vietnam if that means

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